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Historical Geography III: Hope Persists

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Abstract

The final report in this series turns to focus on the emerging intersections between historical geography, archaeology and the law. Whilst staying attuned to the darkest of geographies emerging from the sub-field, this report turns its attention to the creative and critical ways in which the dead are being used to reveal past lives and worlds that have been destroyed and forgotten. Using soil and the archaeological imagination as a pivot, this report centres on the interweaving themes of fragile environments, resurfacing and legal worlds in order to suggest the emerging possibilities for a hopeful excavation of new historical geographies.

Keywords: archaeological imagination, memory, environment, spectre, law, justice

He stopped sharply where the dunes slipped down towards the bay. The shore was washed clean by the gales, and I could see where he's been with the ancient tractor, raking up seaweed to fertilize the light shell-soil. 'Look.' There was an overhang in the dunes – the recent wind had eroded them, making wave-shaped sculptures held together by marram roots. A hand reached out of the sand. A skeleton. No flesh. Peat preserves bodies, but sand allows for decay. The bones were perfect, the fingers intact ... There are no ground-predators in Uist to disturb a body (Cleeves, 2014:24).

Historical geographers have long paid acute attention to the elements of the earth. The howling winds (Veale *et al*, 2014), the drenching rain (Kearns and Till, 2017), and the slippery seas (Peters, 2016) have all become familiar characters in the stories told within the sub-field. This final report in the series seeks to follow in this tradition by using soil as a framing device to discuss the current creative meshing of fragmented histories of dead bodies (and body parts), environments, spectres, law and justice in historical geography.

The above description of the unexpected unearthing of a skeleton, from Ann Cleeves's short story 'The Secrets of Soil', brings together a number of key themes that will be discussed throughout this report relating to fragile environments, resurfacing and legal worlds. In the story, Detective Willow Reeves is awoken by a phone-call from her father demanding her immediate return to her childhood home in North Uist. Once arrived, she finds a landscape recovering from unseasonable storms. Her father drives her to the dunes to reveal his gruesome find. Although only a hand reaches out from the sand, Willow instantly recognises the body buried below. John Ash had been a wanderer stumbling his way to Uist to find meaning in the people and the place. A young man in his twenties who had lost touch with his parents, John was vulnerable, lost and alone. One day he just disappeared. Willow

shamefully recalls the last time she saw him, thirty years before the winds exposed his grave. One evening, after a trip to the local pub, John walked home alone along the road-side. Willow and a group of teenage friends, fuelled by youth and alcohol, chased one another as their cars hurtled across the road to Balranald. Willow cannot recall the exact details of what happened next, her vehicle having already passed John in the darkness, but she heard the screech of breaks and the hollow screams of life being extinguished. From here she ran, not to the scene but away from it, never looking back until the past truly returned to haunt her from the scarred dune landscape.

The almost unbearable pain of violent death and its raw physical and psychological manifestations for those left behind is only glimpsed through this story, but the permeations of such events on individuals, communities and environments is vividly explored. John's body was dragged from the road to the dunes, buried and abandoned. He became one of the many missing; his story silenced by the soil. Yet his eventual exposure catapults his story into a range of overlapping spheres of law, archaeology and geography. This final report seeks to explore these interconnections through a focus on the 'archaeological imagination' (Shanks, 2016) and the possibilities that it may bring for a new wave of critical and creative encounters with the dead in historical geography. A recurring theme of these reports has been that of remains, of what can and does exist after war, trauma, death and devastation; and, while this piece continues in this trajectory it now turns to focus on the creative and constitutive aspects of working with remains and traces.

Beginning with a discussion of the 'archaeological imagination', this piece showcases the growing interconnectivity between (contemporary) archaeology and historical geography. A point of intersection for both lies in their intimate relations with the earth, and the following section discusses the various ways in which the sub-field is exploring environments, particularly in relation to their fragility, through attention to climate histories. Relations between memory and place are then examined, through a focus on resurfacing, where discussions around the connections between memory and material are fore-fronted. Examining such issues leads to a consideration of ghosts and spectres, bringing to light the creative ways in which the sub-field is shedding new insights into the lives and worlds of the forgotten, neglected and abandoned. The final section moves to discuss the emerging connections between historical geography and legal geography through attention to the construction and deconstruction of legal worlds in relation to issues of (intergenerational) justice. In conclusion, I turn to the example of the World's End murders to bring together ideas of soil, law, archaeology and historical geography, and to suggest the emerging possibilities for a hopeful excavation of new historical geographies.

Soil and the 'archaeological imagination'

In her 2015 *Progress in Human Geography* piece, Lisa Hill stresses that the time is ripe for an increased dialogue between human geography and archaeology, particularly in relation to issues of matter and time. While Hill's report centres on the relations between contemporary archaeology and cultural geography, the foundations are laid, through the notion of the 'archaeological imagination', for drawing new lines of intersection between archaeology and historical(-cultural) geography. For Shanks (2016:25), 'the archaeological imagination is a sensibility towards traces and remains, towards memory, time and temporality, the fabric of history', suggesting an immediate affinity with the work on remains and traces discussed in previous reports (McGeachan, 2016, 2014). The archaeologist and the historical geographer share many imagined traits, yet the archaeological imagination attempts to unite the two in more concrete terms, as a bridging field that connects across and between different ways of working with the remains of the past (Shanks, 2016:17), transcending disciplinary domains. It can also be viewed as a 'creative impulse' (Shanks, 2016:25) operating at the heart of archaeological practice which sets in motion the possibilities for exploring 'change, innovation ... the roles of individual perception, practice and agency' (Shanks, 2016:17).

Viewing the archaeological imagination as creative and constitutive chimes with the wealth of historical(-cultural) geography work that is pushing new ways of doing, interpreting and telling the past (Forsyth, 2017; Wyckoff, 2016), as shown in Merle Patchett's (2017) recent experiments in recuperating the working spaces and working practices of Scottish taxidermists. Using an array of innovative methodological techniques, Patchett (2017) seeks to research 'bodies at work' in the past (see also Griffin and Evans, 2008) and in doing so highlights the importance of the often neglected historical geographies of craft and craftwork. This focus on 'absent archives' (Ogborn, 2017) connects with recent attempts creatively to uncover both the silence and the 'shrieks and cries' of enslaved women through archival fragments (Fuentes, 2016). Using the absence of enslaved women's voices in the archives of slavery in eighteenth-century Barbados as a starting point, Fuentes (2016) shows the systematic structures of violent control embedded in the landscape of Bridgetown. Each of these works pushes at the boundaries of what can really be known of past lives and past experiences, and therefore turns to creative practice to attempt to bring dead bodies and their experiential worlds back to life.

The importance of the imagination and the power that it holds to transform matter, often dead mundane matter, into something more significant that can then be shared is of equal importance to historical geography and archaeology. Jennifer Wallace, in her book *Digging The Dirt* (2004), stresses that the ability of the imagination to 'turn stones into words and the barest bones of our existence into something meaningful and lasting' (p.12) is its most powerful trait. Wallace's focus on writing that can be considered archaeological under this remit offers a compelling set of possible connections to historical geography. For example, a current enchantment with ruins and ruination in historical and cultural geography (Gallagher, 2015; McDonald, 2014;

DeSilvey and Edensor, 2013;) opens on to a wider concern and questioning around loss, erasure and disregard with respect to history in contemporary society (see Lorimer and Murray, 2015). Wallace's (2004) related concern for a loss of history amongst the inhabitation of a plurality of surfaces calls for a 'poetics of depth' that retains a commitment to aura and the rights of desire in the face of literal and metaphorical demolition. Therefore, in a number of ways, the archaeological imagination returns historical geographers, once again, to what is missing and has been erased, encouraging new ways to uncover and explore layers of unearthed histories.

Wallace's call for a 'stratified history' whereby an effective, grounded and radical politics can be found, connects to 'sedimented histories' (Lloyd and Moore, 2015) which attempts simultaneously to accommodate the histories we live with and those we live by. For Sarah Lloyd and Julie Moore (2015:243), histories we live by are the stories people tell themselves about ancestors, ways of life, tragedy, survival and the cast of exceptional characters that cements oneself in place. Yet these stories run alongside, often unwittingly, the histories we live with; the histories of place, generation and connection. The conflict that emerges between the two can, for Lloyd and Moore (2015), lead to a silencing or exclusion of individual or collective recollections that are often the rawest histories of oppression and the most challenging to 'hear'. Both stratified and sedimented histories endeavour to destabilise traditional historical narratives by turning away from the surface and digging into the depths of their often unknown foundations. These can be uncomfortable histories wherein horrifying spectres of past lives, worlds and practices, once thought of as long buried, return to the surface, forcefully confronting the here and the now. As Karin Sanders (2009) notes in her work around bog bodies and the archaeological imagination, a connection with the past is often sought to stabilise the present. However, a growing approach in both contemporary archaeology and historical geography is to use remains – particularly when relating to human remains – to help *rupture* time and space, and therefore destabilize present ways of considering the past. Confronting – and actively seeking out – these histories can be a daunting enterprise, yet the archaeological imagination helps to humanise these remains in whatever form they materialise, encouraging historical geography to dig even deeper into darker historical terrains.

Fragile environments

The unexpected revelation of a skeleton, highlighted in Cleeves's story, reveals the inability of environments indefinitely to contain the human secrets of the past. Sands drift, water melts and soils shift, all offering the potential for exposing the traces of what lies beneath. Attention to these fragile environments and the histories that they have the potential to reveal or conceal have recently been discussed in the sub-field. David Matless (2017), for example, suggests the 'Anthroposcenic' as a line of geographic enquiry that foregrounds the ways in which 'landscape becomes

emblematic of environmental transformation' (p. 1). Focusing on eroding coastal landscapes and drawing historical and contemporary materials from the English coast, Matless exposes how 'the Anthropocene may encompass historical material anticipatory of current debate' (2017:1). This interest in history's 'anticipatory' quality (DeSilvey, 2012), as most recently demonstrated through DeSilvey's (2017) poetic discussions of storms, sea level rise and eroding coastlines in relation to the mutable decay of harbours and lighthouses, is also posed through current work on climate histories (Livingstone, 2012; Daniels and Endfield, 2009). In their opinion article stating the importance for an integrated historical climate research, WIREs (2016) argue that there is currently a re-emergence of historical-geographical work that is at the forefront of developing new forms of historical climatology and climate history research. This work calls for a re-examination of the cultural and spatial dimensions of climate and investigates different human interpretations of climate history, adaption and cultural coping strategies (WIREs, 2016:165). For example, Veale *et al* (2017) describe the importance of parish registers to the enhancement of local narratives of extreme weather events. From the difficulty of digging graves in frozen ground to the disruption of ordinary community activities, Veale *et al* (2017) highlight the revealing nature of such sources on the local level of climate history.

In this vein, a number of historical scholars have turned to the specifics of weather to explore climate narratives from a historical-geographical perspective. Veale (2017), when reviewing Mike Hulme's *Weathered: Cultures of Climate* (2016), notes that 'climate – whether it is an idea or something more – is what allows people to live with their weather' (p.xv), and therefore states the significance of weather to understanding human-environment interactions.. Veale *et al* (2014) turn to the under-examined element of the wind to investigate the environment's place in different knowledge regimes and the relations, often highly intimate, between people and their local environment. Drawing on Ingold's (2007) concept of the 'weather world' and focussing on the Helm Wind, Veale *et al* (2014:26) suggest that 'wind should be conceived as a component of landscape; a force that acts to shape landscapes' and as such shapes behaviour. The numerous effects of weather on places, and individuals' relationships with weather, are acutely demonstrated through Lucy Veale and Georgina Endfield's (2016) inquiry into the local impacts of the eruption of Mount Tambora in Indonesia. At the heart of many of these discussions is the importance of how past societies have coped and responded to climate variability, offering a rich portrait of adaption and resilience and strategies (Endfield, 2012). In doing so, this work seeks to create a detailed, geographically referenced and personal reconstruction of the weather, its subsequent impacts and societal responses, that exhibits the importance of exploring the various direct and indirect interconnections between climate variability and human history (Luterbacher and Pfister, 2015).

Toby Pillant (2012:34) has argued that 'the weather in which one stands can be as much responsible for generating a sense or use of place as the ground on which one

stands', alluding to the central role of weather to the making and meaning of place. Gerry Kearns and Karen Till (2017) echo this thereby discussing the multiple literary descriptions of rain in traditional Irish lifeworlds. Stressing the toxicity that the cliché of the relentless Irish rain can have in respect to alienating individuals and communities from their shared lifeworlds, Kearns and Till (2017) develop the notion of 'the lifeworlds of cultural practice' in order to draw attention to the active role of intuition and intent associated with lived cultural practices. Yet the emerging connections in historical-geographical work around climate also illuminate the complex temporality of places, using historical narratives potentially to aid community and societal understandings of environmental fragility. Hall and Endfield (2016), for example, explore the relationships between weather, memory and place through the example of extreme or unusual snowfall in Cumbria. In unearthing a range of localised memories, this work demonstrates the importance of place to an individual's production, reception and circulation of weather knowledge, and how people may come to know, understand and potentially fear the changing environments around them.

Resurfacing

Issues of environment, memory and the archaeological imagination are intimately intertwined in Walter Benjamin's short essay 'Excavation and Memory' (c.1932/1997). Here he showcases a form of archaeological writing where he encourages 'the cautious probing of the spade in the dark loam' of memory. Benjamin (1997:576) notes:

He who seeks to approach his own buried past must conduct himself like a man digging. Above all, he must not be afraid to return again and again to the same matter; to scatter it as one scatters earth, to turn it over as one turns over soil..

The metaphor of turning over the soil, revealing the secrets buried beneath, hints at an interest in resurfacing that permeates the sub-field. Whilst memory itself has attracted attention in human geography more widely (see Jones and Garde-Hansen, 2012), historical and cultural geographers have tended to work within the folds of memory; thinking more explicitly about how the past returns through haunting, spectres, ghosts and echoes. The ways in which this returns is often discussed relates to (archival) practice, with Sarah Mills (2013) noting the range of 'ghosts' that haunt the margins of historical-geographical work (see Hodder, 2017; Edwards, 2017; Craggs, 2016). Yet the ghosts often refer to the forgotten, the silent and the marginalised, to their absence in the records or written histories. Work detailing the geographical histories of psychiatry, particularly in Scotland, enacts an attempt to bring the most neglected of society to the fore across a range of different scales (Philo and Andrews, 2017). From Farquharson's (2017) investigations into the unfamiliar institutions of Scotland's parochial asylums in the nineteenth century, Gallagher's

(2017) careful tracking of the emergence of mental patient unionism in the early 1970s, through to McGeachan's (2017) portrait of patient-artist Adam Christie in the early twentieth century, a focus on the neglected and the unknown is deliberately given precedence. John Forrester and Laura Cameron (2017) also turn to the psycho-disciplines to reveal the neglected or 'unusual' geographies and histories of psychoanalysis. Taking the 'Absent Great Man' of Sigmund Freud, this work investigates the loose networks attached to Cambridge and thereby reveals an unearthed history of psychoanalysis that encompasses a new range of unknown people, places and ideas. For Mantel (2017a) 'the dead are invisible, they are not absent', which strikes at the very heart of this strong collection of emerging historical geography work.

This interest in the 'unquiet dead' (Mantel, 2017b) connects to a body of work concerned with the unwanted resurfacing of memories and ghosts. Sometimes, the re-emergence of the past is not only disruptive of space-time, but also unwelcome and feared. Hamzah Muzaini (2015) discusses the process of 'wanting to forget' through the personal experiences of individuals who experienced the Second World War in Malaysia. Focusing on how individuals choose to forget their past, Muzaini (2015:104) explores 'conspiring silences, enacting absences and embodying avoidance'. Analysing traumatic memories of war and their attempted burial Muzaini (2015: 110) notes: 'it is not always possible to "tame" memory; the past is with us, lying low until it decides to show itself'. This attention to the unwanted return of the past through both memory and connections with the material world unites with historical geography work around trauma, memory and the manipulation of material, such as monuments and museum displays (Soares, 2016). For example, Kearns (2014) explores this complex relationship between memory and material traces through his discussions of Primo Levi and the precarious survival of a shed. The shed under investigation is a relic from the Jewish slave labour quarters of Auschwitz-Monowitz symbolizing the murder of millions of Jewish people in Europe during the period of Nazi tyranny. Kearns's careful probing of Levi's own reflections on the relations between materiality and memory reveals the profound difficulties that surround an individual and collective desire to remember sitting awkwardly alongside a will to forget.

Complementing this work is the increased attention given to 'spectrality' and the ways in which spaces, events and practices can disrupt and unsettle understandings of time, place and self through the (re)emergence of haunting memories (Hill, 2013; McCormack, 2010). This notion of spectres beckoning from the past is revealing of the spectral's appeal to historical researchers. In numerous ways, the past and their dead simply refuse to leave the present alone. For Derrida (1994), the capacity that the spectral has to disrupt established orders and ways of knowing is a key attribute, but its strong ethical dimension also holds great appeal. An interest in justice, especially intergenerational justice, binds this work on the spectral to wider concerns within historical geography and beyond to unearth and recognise the injustices of

the past. Jennifer Greenburg (2016), for example, draws from the Haitian proverb 'bay kou bliye, pote mak sonje - the one who strikes the blow forgets, the one who bears the scars remembers' - to frame her investigations into the under-examined US occupation of Haiti. Discussing the *Service Technique*, Greenburg highlights the ways in which the early-twentieth century US empire used development as an instrument of military violence. Relations are made to the current era of US militarism which, for Greenburg (2016:63), 'has again turned to development as a counterinsurgency weapon'. This work echoes Ian Shaw's (2016) evocative writing on the *Predator Empire*, whereby the historical demarcations of enclosure are shown to have 'left in its wake a deworlde and alienated humanity' (p.255). Focusing on the emergence of the Predator Empire through the historical production of imperial space, Shaw (2016:61) reveals the painful human consequences and 'geometric scars' of a world forever creating, policing and killing for a network of new enclosures. This body of work powerfully conveys the importance in resurfacing historical injustices in the present, carving out a space for reconsidering the lives lost and worlds destroyed through warfare.

Legal worlds

In returning to this paper's opening story, it becomes clear that the reader has stumbled upon the partial story of a violent death: becoming an inadvertent witness to an unfolding crime scene. In the margins lies the seeds of a police investigation where the careful extraction of soil by forensic archaeologists will leave the skeleton, and the crime, fully exposed. This shadow of the law that hangs around the body and its burial site is representative of the law's increasing critical presence in historical geography. Debates concerning the co-constitutive relationships between people, place and law have been the domain of legal geography for a number of decades, but recent calls by Irus Braverman *et al* (2014) to expand the remit of the sub-field has chimed with an array of historical-geographical work concerned with different aspects of legal (and illegal) worlds. For Braverman *et al* (2014:1), the 'worlded' nature of the law highlights its overarching reach. Delaney (2015:99) suggests that 'there is nothing in the world ... that is not affected by the workings of the law' for "[l]aw" draws lines, constructs insides and outsides, assigns legal meanings to lines, and attaches legal consequences to crossing them'. The 'rules and rights' of the law underpin various spatial tactics such as confinement, expulsion and exclusion, and in this way, Delaney (2015:99) argues, '[l]aw carves life-worlds into innumerable boxes and assembles and reassembles them in ways that structure experiences ... [A]s it does so, it channels power throughout relational worlds'. In this sense, Braverman *et al* (2014:13) advocate for a postdisciplinary approach within legal geography that will aid in a stretching of spaces - organised into landscapes, networks, places, topologies, relations, scales - that can be seen to affect and be affected by the law. This new approach to understanding the legal world requires attention to 'ideology, routinized practice, enrolment, myth narrative, things, non-human animals, nature, brutality, redemption, courtroom layout, and the

construction of difference' (Braverman *et al*, 2014: 13), to name but a few themes, and sets in motion alternative ways of conceiving power and its influences that drives to the heart of emerging scholarship in the sub-field.

Attention to legal worlds in historical geography connects to legal geographers' recent calls to take more seriously questions about the past and multiple aspects of temporality, alongside a more sophisticated conception of space-time, in the development of legal geography (Braverman *et al*, 2014:14; Graham and Bartel, 2016). For example, the evocative portraits of 'civil abandonment' of women in sex work through their spatial segregation as painted by Stephen Legg (2016; 2014) showcase the complex networks and assemblages across empire that work to bring diverse sets of sex work under regulation. Similarly, David Beckingham's (2017) innovative research into the making of a licenced city through a focus on regulating drink in Liverpool during the nineteenth-century highlights the everyday impacts of municipal regulation on urban life. This focus on the construction of legislation across space connects to recent provocations by Lauren Benton and Lisa Ford (2016) in their book *Rage for Order*, which tells the untold story of attempts to reorder the early nineteenth-century world through the redesign of British imperial law. Focusing on the British rage for order and how it shaped governance through attention to legal practices and knowledge, Benton and Ford (2016) denote the importance of writing the messy histories of global law. This building body of scholarship shows the *working* of the law through different spaces, places, landscapes and environments, demonstrating its ability to inscribe rules and regulations, recognise or withhold rights, and enact the privileges of authority at a variety of scales (Delaney, 2015:99).

As shown, while the lines of the law have been of particular interest to many historical geographers, it is also the spaces where these legal lines are crossed that have attracted attention. Consideration of the nonhuman has provided insight into hybrid human-nonhuman legal worlds. For example, Chris Pearson's (2016) work on the history of smuggling and custom dogs on the Franco border between 1871 and 1940 captures the importance of considering more-than-human processes of bordering. Similarly, Emily O'Gorman's (2016) critical analysis of the pelican slaughter of 1911 in the Coorong lagoon in South Australia reveals the intimate role of animals and environments in the co-shaping of legal geographies. The hybridity of legal worlds is also shown vividly in historical-geographical work around protest and occupation (see Cox *et al*, 2016). Briony McDonagh and Carl Griffin (2016) discuss issues of protest, trespass and occupation through a historical lens in order to carve spaces for new solidarities in the contemporary world. Drawing on three moments in the making of property in land and three associated moments of resistance, this paper presents 'a different story about the solidification of property rights, the securitisation of space and the gradual emergence of the legal framework through which property is now disciplined' (McDonagh and Griffin, 2016:1). Unravelling the complex interplay between property and protest, set within a

nuanced history of enclosure (see Shaw, 2016) and common rights, connects to a growing appreciation of a critical historical imagination within contemporary human geography (Christophers, 2014). This notion that history is something constructed, political, owned and therefore *used* identifies the ability of society to mobilize the past, raising important questions about how the excavation of past legal worlds may hold important clues for the future implementation of law and its spaces.

Conclusions: hopeful excavation

They shall grow not old, as we that are left grow old:
Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn.
At the going down of the sun and in the morning
We will remember them.
(Binyon, 1914).

The above words from the poem 'For the Fallen', most commonly associated with its annual reading at Remembrance Sunday, were read aloud in a courtroom in Glasgow, on the 14th November 2014 by Judge Lord Matthews, in his sentencing of Angus Sinclair for the rape and murder of Christine Eadie and Helen Scott in 1977. The killings, dubbed the World's End murders, devastated multiple lives as teenage friends Christine and Helen were brutally attacked after accepting a lift home from Sinclair and brother-in-law Gordon Hamilton during an evening out in Edinburgh's Royal Mile. Their naked and bound bodies were found the following day; Christine found at Gosford Bay and Helen in a wheat field near Haddington. In sentencing, Lord Matthews condemned Sinclair's unwillingness to tell the truth about what happened that fateful night stating 'what does matter is that the girls were subjected to an ordeal beyond comprehension and then left like carrion, exposed for all to see, with no dignity, even in death' (quoted in Cramb, 2014). This case symbolised the making of 'legal history' (Leverick, 2015) as Sinclair was the first individual prosecuted under Scotland's reformed double jeopardy law, successfully tried for a second time for the same crime. Sinclair had slipped through the cracks in the legal system seven years earlier when he had failed to be convicted at a trial in 2007. However, the reformation of the law in the Double Jeopardy (Scotland) Act 2011 and the advances in forensic science eventually allowed Sinclair to be re-prosecuted and found guilty of his horrific acts.

A key part of evidence used against Sinclair was the analysis of soil traces found on the soles of Helen's feet. Helen's body was found face down in the wheat field with her hands tied behind her back and wearing no footwear. Police officers carefully scraped the soil into evidence bags to retain for possible future use. At the time of the murders, soil was rarely used as evidence, but an increase in adapting chromatography and mass spectrometry techniques meant that today 'soil evidence

regularly leads to bodies, overturns alibis and reveals the origins of artefacts' (Wald, 2015:423). Forensic geologist Lorna Dawson worked on the cold case and used soil forensics to piece together a narrative of Helen's final living moments. The analysed debris pressed into Helen's feet contained traces of plant wax that matched the wheat field where her body had been found and other traces matched the surrounding grassy border (Wald, 2015:424). In court, Dawson stated that '[t]he pattern of the soil on her feet suggested that she had walked or stood in that particular field' (quoted in Wald, 2015:424) moments before she was beaten and strangled. Prosecutor Deborah Demick stressed that even though Dawson's contribution was small it was crucial as it 'enabled the Crown to have a clear narrative of events and emphasize to the jury the sheer horror of what had happened to Miss Scott – being walked into the field to her death' (quoted in Wald, 2015:424). Delaney (2016:269) notes that 'justice is always aspirational (if not utopian), occasional, fleeting and fragile', yet it can be so desperately hoped and fought for. After the trial, Helen's father, Morain Scott, thanked all of the individuals who for 37 years refused to give up seeking justice for Helen and Christine, and for changing Scottish law forevermore (Cramb, 2014). This case crept under the skin of everyone involved, especially Dawson, who noted '[l]ife's so precious, and if it's taken away by someone else's actions, then I think that there is no cost that you should stop at to try and find justice' (quoted in Wald, 2015:424).

This final example painfully draws together the themes of fragile environments, resurfacing and legal worlds that form this report, showing the intricate interconnections between individuals, systems, environments and worlds that are all genuinely loved. The persistence of those involved in investigating the World's End murders, determined to find justice, chimes with the determination of many historical geographers to seek out the distributed worlds and personhoods of the 'unquiet dead' (Mantel, 2017b). A need to name, and perhaps know, the dead, and the often devastating geographies of their demise, illuminates a desire in the sub-field to connect, give voice and somehow to salvage those worlds that are no longer here: in short, to try truly to humanise the (unknown) past. Through continual attempts to devise new creative and imaginative ways of working with archival shards, fragments and traces, and narrating new connections between the past, present and future, the sub-field shows an unwavering commitment to what *might* be found, what *may* remain and what *can* possibly be saved. This evolving process of hopeful excavation in historical geography seeks to show that what was once human should be treated as human still (Mantel, 2017a), suggesting a careful consideration of the force of the dead and a recognition of their power in contemporary human geography. As highlighted throughout this report, the dead travel across time and space, entering into a range of spaces and environments that cross, often unexpected, paths with the living. Increased attempts to examine these connections in the sub-field has led to further engagements with the imagination, and also to an increased collaboration between archaeology and legal geographies which has much still to

offer as these relations build. Therefore, as historical geography enters into the darkest of terrains, to face the most challenging components of human existence, it does so 'together': through collaboration, contact and compassion with other disciplines who collectively seek to work tirelessly with the dead.

As this final report draws to a close, I wish briefly to reflect back on the bodies and body parts which have framed all of these discussions. Limbless unnamed torsos, Ursula, Joyce, John, Christine and Helen, all represent our humanity, and in their discovery, sometimes, our greatest inhumanity. The overarching purpose of these reports has been to showcase the multiple ways in which historical geographers are working, consciously, creatively and critically with the dead, seeking out new questions to ask and novel directions to follow. As we have witnessed, sometimes tracing the dead leads us into the murkiest corners of human existence, uncovering geographies that can be almost too painful to bear and too harrowing to witness. However, the tracing of these geographies reveals a determination by the sub-field to interrogate the past in all its messy manifestations and to find innovative ways to scrape, scratch and claw through the layers of history in order to leave no-bodies unearthed, uncovered and unknown. Arguably, a growing strength in historical geography is its passion for hopeful excavation: its persistence not to turn away from the darkest of humanity but instead to work within its dimly lit edge-lands, and to seek out the hopeful traces of human light from all that remains.

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